

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-07 INRE-00 PM-05  
NSCE-00 CIAE-00 SSO-00 /040 W  
-----081418 201600Z /46

O P 201453Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6985  
INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 0311

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PBOR, PEPR, SO, US, OAU, ET  
SUBJ: TOWARDS PEACE IN THE HORN

REF: A. NAIROBI 0883, B. STATE 006298 (NOTAL),  
C. LAGOS 0633, D. ADDIS ABABA 0288 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: EMBASSY ADDIS SUBSCRIBES TO THOUGHTS  
EMANATING FROM LEMELLE-LOUGHRAN MEETING THIS WEEK  
IN NAIROBI. IF WE ARE TO HAVE A POSITIVE ROLE IN  
GETTING PRESENTLY ANTI-WESTERN ETHIOPIA CLOSER TO  
NEGOTIATING TABLE WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO APPEAR  
MORE EVEN-HANDED. SPECIFICALLY, SUGGESTING THAT  
A CEASE-FIRE IS A PRE-CONDITION TO NEGOTIATIONS

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IS AN IMPEDIMENT TO FAVORABLE ETHIOPIAN REACTION,  
I.E., POSSIBLE NEGOTIATIONS WHILE MILITARY STALEMATE  
AND SKIRMISHES CONTINUE. OAU SEC GEN MAY BE COMING  
UP WITH A DECLARATION SATISFACTORY TO KENYA WHICH OUR  
POSSIBLE SUPPORT OUGHT TO MAKE POINTS WITH ETHIOPIA  
TOO. INITIAL ETHIOPIAN MILITARY VICTORY WILL PROBABLY  
BE PARTIAL, A FACT WHICH COULD FOSTER NEGOTIATIONS

LATER ON IF THEY DON'T GET STARTED SOON. EMBASSY IS NOT SNAGUINE ABOUT SOVIETS ALIENATING THEIR NEW-FOUND ETHIOPIAN FRIENDS UNTIL SUCH TIME AS WE ARE PERCEIVED AS NOT BEING TOTALLY HOSTILE. END SUMMARY.

1. I REGRET I WAS NOT ABLE TO JOIN AMBASSADORS LEMELLE AND LOUGHRAN FOR MEETING IN NAIROBI BECAUSE OF WHAT HAS SEEMED TO BE FAST DETERIORATING BILATERAL RELATIONS. I AM CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THAT REF (A) WOULD HAVE REACH MUCH THE SAME HAD I BEEN THERE, AND I WAS HAPPY TO FIND SOME OF THE PROPOSITIONS COINCIDED WITH THOSE WE HAD MADE IN RESPONSE TO REFTEL (B).

2. EMBASSY ADDIS HAS BEEN A BIT RELUCTANT TO URGE THAT USG TAKE A STRONG PUBLIC STAND FOR SOMALI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OGADEN, PARTIALLY OUT OF FEAR THAT OUR VIEWS MIGHT BE TOO CLOUDED BY OUR ENVIRONMENT, PUTRID THOUGH IT MAY BE INTERNALLY. HOWEVER, FROM REPORTING FROM OTHER OAU CAPITALS PLUS OUR OWN TALKS WITH LOCALLY-ACCREDITED AFRICAN AMBASSADORS, IT IS INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT VIRTUALLY EVER SUBSAHARAN OAU MEMBER OTHER THAN SOMALIA REGARDS ETHIOPIA AS THE PARTY AGRESSED AGAINST. MANY OF THEM ARE, OF COURSE, CONGENITALLY SUSPICIOUS OF ARABS, BUT THEIR REAL CONCERN IS THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY NOT BE DILUTED. EMBASSY  
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ADDIS AGREES, THEREFORE, WITH NAIROBI THAT IT WOULD SEEM WORTHWHILE TO TRY TO GET OUR MIDDLE EASTERN ALLIES TO REALIZE THAT THEIR OWN INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY GETTING SOMALIA TO WITHDRAW, BEFORE IT IS WHIPPED BADLY BY ETHIOPIA AND HER SOVIET AND CUBAN ALLIES. THIS VIEW, ALTHOUGH NOT UNIVERSALLY HELD BY ARAB DIPLOMATS IN ADDIS, IS URGED BY AT LEAST SOME OF THEM ON THEIR CAPITALS.

3. EMBASSY HAS NOTICED INCREASING MENTION IN US MEDIA OF A CEASE-FIRE AS A PRECONDITION OF ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA SITTING DOWN TO NEOGITATIONS, BUT MUST IT BE? ALTHOUGH AN END OF ALL FIGHTING IS A WORTHY GOAL, WE CANNOT SEE FROM HERE ANY POSSIBILITY OF ETHIOPIA'S AGREEING TO A CEASE-FIRE IN PLACE AS LONG AS SO MUCH OF ITS TERRITORY IS OCCUPIED BY ENEMY FORCES. OUR EDUCATED GUESS NOW IS THAT IT WILL TAKE ANOTHER ONE TO TWO MONTHS FOR ETHIO-CUBAN-SOVIET OFFENSIVE TO GET REALLY UNDERWAY, AND THE THOUGHT OCCURS THAT NEGOTIATIONS UNDER OAU AEGIS BETWEEN THE TWO AFRICAN ANTOAGONISTS MIGHT STILL GET STARTED IN A THIRD CAPITAL, EVEN WHILE THE GENERAL

STALEMATE AND MINOR SKIRMISHES CONTINUE. IN ANY  
EVENT, IF REPEAT IF WE WANT TO GET ANY SORT OF  
COOPERATION FROM AN EPMG WHICH NOW SMELLS VICTORY  
IN THE AIR AND IS CONTINUALLY OUTRAGED THAT WE DO  
NOT GIVE EQUAL TIME TO THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL  
INTEGRITY, WE SHOULD DE-EMPHASIZE THE CEASE-FIRE  
ASPECTS OF OUR PUSH FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

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4. AS DEPT IS AWARE, OAU SEC GEN ETEKI HAS ADMITTED  
TO ME THAT US-USSR UNDERSTANDING IS NECESSARY BEFORE  
OAU CAN HOPE TO UNDERTAKE MEANINGFUL SPONSORSHIP  
OF NEGOTIATIONS. WE TEND TO AGREE WITH HIM, BUT  
IN ANY EVENT BELIEVE THAT ONE-SIDED WESTERN ACTIVISM  
WILL GRATE ON AFRICAN SENSITIVITIES TO THE DETRIMENT  
OF OUR ULTIMATE GOALS. IF WE CANNOT SOLICIT POSITIVE  
SOVIET SUPPORT FOR AN OAU MEDIATION EFFORT, AND IT  
SEEMS UNLIKELY, THEN WE MAY HAVE TO SATISFY OUR  
DESIRE TO DO SOMETHING, AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING  
WITH CONTINUED PUBLIC SUPPORT OF THE OAU WHILE

ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA HAVE ANOTHER GO AT IT. IN THIS  
REGARD, KENYAN AMBASSADOR NGANATHA HAS JUST INFORMED  
ME OAU SEC GEN IS PRESENTLY WORKING ON A STATEMENT  
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TO BE ISSUED SHORTLY WHICH BOTH MEN HOPE USG CAN  
SUPPORT (REF D). (AFTER DRAFTING ABOVE, OAU STATEMENT (PARA 4 ABOVE)  
RECEIVED AND BEING TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL.) DESPITE AFOREMENTIONED  
SMELL OF VICTORY IN ADDIS, WE DOUBT THAT FIRST ETHIOPIAN MILI-  
TARY THRUST WILL ATTAIN OBJECTIVE OF THROWING  
SOMALIS ALL THE WAY BACK BEHIND THEIR BORDERS ALL  
ACROSS THE FRONT. THE CHANCES FOR GETTING NEGOTIATIONS  
UNDERWAY MAY IMPROVE AGAIN AFTER A PARTIAL VICTORY.

5. OUR ONLY RESERVATION ABOUT REF (A) CONCERNS  
FUTURE OF ETHIO-SOVIET RELATIONS. EMBASSY ADDIS HAS  
CONSISTENTLY REPORTED OFT-HEARD VIEW AMONG AFRICANS  
AND EVEN SOME EASTERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS HERE THAT  
SOVIET HEAVY-HANDEDNESS WILL SOON BRING ABOUT  
FISSURE IN ETHIOPIAN-SOVIET SOLIDARITY AND THAT THEY  
WILL AGAIN LOOK FOR A WESTERN ALTERNATIVE. THAT MAY  
BE THE CASE, BUT IT WILL TAKE A LOT LONGER IF WE  
CONTINUE TO BE PERCEIVED BY ETHIOPIANS AS IN FACT  
BACKING "AGGRESSOR SOMALIA" THROUGH OUR CALL FOR  
NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT A CONCURRENT STRONG RESTATEMENT  
OF RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND PERHAPS  
WILLINGNESS TO GO PUBLIC IN OUR CALL FOR SOMALIA  
TO WITHDRAW.  
MATHERON

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
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**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 19 apr 2005  
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**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
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**TAGS:** PBOR, PEPR, SO, US, ET, OAU  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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